

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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R 241410Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7953

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 1811

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, US, KE, UG

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH KENYATTA

REF (A) STATE 041704 (B) LONDON 02568

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: I CALLED ON PRESIDENT KENYATTA MORNING OF FEBRUARY 24 AND INFORMED HIM OF RESULTS OF KENYA MILITARY DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON (REF A). KENYATTA REGISTERED HIS PLEASURE WITH U.S. PROJECTED MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND EXPRESSED WARM THANKS, BUT SHOWED SOME CONCERN ABOUT LENGTHY DELIVERY TIMES. HE STRESSED URGENCY OF OBTAINING SOME TYPE OF NEW EQUIPMENT IN NEAR FUTURE TO DEMONSTRATE KENYA'S ABILITY TO REPEL ANY GBULD-BE INVADER. ALLUDING TO POSSIBLE VISIT TO KENYA BY THE SECRETARY, KENYATTA PROMISED WARM WELCOME WHICH WOULD DEMONSTRATE KENYA'S FRIENDSHIP FOR U.S. ON CURRENT SPAT WITH AMIN OF UGANDA, KENYATTA INDICATED THAT HE CONSIDERED AMIN AN INGRATE AND A BIT MAD. HE CONFIDED THAT HE HAD REFUSED THREE PHONE CALLS FROM AMIN FEBRUARY 23, IMPLYING THAT NOTHING LESS THAN PUBLIC APOLOGY WOULD PLACATE HIM OR KENYA'S PEOPLE. KENYATTA IS SHARP OF MIND, PHYSICALLY VIGOROUS, AND SHOWS NO SIGN OF HIS EIGHTY-PLUS YEARS; THE CONTRETEMPS WITH AMIN, IF ANY-THING, APPEARS TO HAVE ACTED AS A TONIC. END SUMMARY

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2. PRESIDENT KENYATTA WAS FULL OF ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM,

WARMTH AND APPRECIATION IN MY 45-MINUTE MEETING WITH HIM THIS MORNING. THE VICE PRESIDENT, MOI, HAD INITIATED THE MEETING AND HAD NOT RPT NOT ADVISED OTHERS SUCWUAS MINISTER OF FINANCE KIBAKI OR MOD, MOFA, THAT MEETING WAS TO TAKE PLACE; ONLY CHIEF OF SPECIAL BRANCH KENYOTO WAS TOLD. MOI WAS ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT IN PRESIDENT'S OFFICE AT STATE HOUSE, NAIROBI. MOI OPENED MEETING BY REFERRING TO PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS THAT HE SHOULD SPEAK TO ME REGARDING KENYAN MILITARY DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS, ADDING THAT HE BELIEVED THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE REPORT DIRECTLY FROM ME.

3. I BEGAN BY STATING THAT I HAD BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HIS MINISTERS AND MOD PERMSEC KIEREINI AND WAS NOW PLEASED TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE MATTER DIRECTLY WITH THE PRESIDENT. I OBSERVED THAT MY REPORT TO KENYATTA WAS BEING MADE PRIOR TO HIS DELEGATION'S RETURN TO KENYA, AND I IMAGINED THEY WOULD BE REPORTING DIRECTLY TO HIM ON THEIR RETURN. I INDICATED THAT THE DELEGATION HE HAD SENT TO WASHINGTON HAD DONE AN EXTREMELY GOOD JOB, PRESENTING A WELL-ORGANIZED, PERSUASIVE PICTURE OF KENYA'S FINANCIAL STATUS; BUT EVEN MORE SO, DESCRIBING KENYA'S DEFENSE NEEDS, THE THREAT WITH WHICH IT IS FACED, AND THAT ARMS ARE NOT BEING SOUGHT FOR PRESTIGE REASONS. I REFERRED TO THE DELEGATION'S MEETING WITH UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE SISCO, QUOTING THE LATTER AS HAVING SAID, "THIS WOULD BE A BETTER WORLD IF ALL RELATIONS WERE AS GOOD AS THOSE BETWEEN KENYA AND THE U.S." THE PRESIDENT ROARED WITH THE LAUGHTER OF DELIGHTED APPROVAL. THE U.S., I SAID, WAS SYMPATHETIC TO KENYA'S NEEDS; WHILE LIMITED IN OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND, WE WANTED TO BE HELPFUL. I NOTED SISCO'S TWO WAYS IN WHICH HE FOUND THE TALKS USEFUL: (1) TO GET ON WITH SPECIFIC PROGRAM, AND (2) TO PROVIDE U.S. WITH FIRST-HAND ASSESSMENT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS.

4. I INFORMED KENYATTA THAT SISCO HAD TOLD THE DELEGATION THAT BOTH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT FORD HAVE FOLLOWED TALKS ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO KENYA.

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THE SECRETARY, I ADDED, HOPES TO VISIT AFRICA, BUT--AS YET--I HAVE RECEIVED NO OFFICIAL NOTICE OF HIS VISIT AND WAS THEREFORE NOT YET IN A POSITION TO ASK KENYATTA WHETHER HE WOULD RECEIVE HIM. BEAMING, KENYATTA THREW BOTH HANDS STRAIGHT OUT AND DECLARED, "WE HOPE HE WILL COME. I WILL WELCOME HIM WITH BOTH HANDS. THE PVEOPLE OF KENYA WILL SHOW HIM OUR FRIENDSHIP FOR AMERICA."

5. I THEN PROCEEDED TO REVIEW THE OUTCOME OF WASHINGTON DISCUSSIONS: \$45 MILLION (INCLUDING THE \$5 MILLION OF 1975) IN FMS CREDITS OFFERED FOR PERIOD 1975-79, SUBJECT TO CONGRESSIONAL APPROVALS, TEN YEARS, INSTEAD OF SEVEN, ON 1976 LOAN. ADDITIONALLY, GRANT MONEY FOR TRAINING, ALSO STILL DEPENDENT ON CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. KENYATTA PUT DOWN THE GOLD, ROOSTER-HEADED LETTER OPYFAD WHICH HE HAD DEXTEROUSLY BEEN TOYING WITH, AND MADE SOME NOTES OF THE FIGURES I'D GIVEN HIM. I CONTINUED, ENUMERATING THE THREE PRIORITIES PRESENTED BY THE DELEGATION: F-5E, HELICOPTERS, C-130S, IDENTIFYING THE ITEMS BY BRIEF COMMENTARY. I POINTED OUT THAT THE NEXT STEP WAS FOR THE GOK TO DECIDE WHAT EQUIPMENT IT NEEDS, GIVEN OUR STATED ABILITY TO PROVIDE FINANCING. IF THE F-5E SQUADRON WAS SELECTED, THERE WOULD BE A SHORTFALL OF ABOUT \$20 MILLION. WE HAD, I STRESSED, PUT MUCH WORK IN COMING UP WITH OUR PRESENT OFFER; THE ADDITIONAL \$20 MILLION COULD NOT BE EXPECTED FROM THE USG. HOWEVER, NOT ALL OF THIS MONEY WOULD BE REQUIRED AT ONCE BUT RATHER OVER THE NEXT THREE-FOUR YEARS. KENYATTA HAD NO COMMENT ON THE MATERIEL OR PRIORITIES, BUT

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ACTION SS-25

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R 241410Z FEB 76
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EXDIS

APPEARED TO TOTALLY COMPREHEND THE SHORTFALL IF F-5ES WERE PURCHASED. MOI INTERJECTED HIS VIEW THAT THE U.S. MIGHT CONSIDER INCREASING ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FUNDS, THUS RELEASING GOK FUNDS (COMMENT: AS HAS BEEN DONE BY

THE UK ON OCCASION) FOR MILITARY REQUIREMENTS. I REPLIED BY UNDERSCORING THAT USAID/KENYA'S 1976 CONTRIBUTION IS \$20 MILLION IN LOANS AND ABOUT \$4 MILLION IN GRANTS. WHILE THE PRESIDENT DID NOT PURSUE THE MATTER, MOI RAISED THE POINT AGAIN WITH ME AFTER THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT.

6. I ANNOUNCED THAT I NOW CAME TO THE BAD NEWS. I KNEW FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT THAT THE PRESIDENT WANTED DELIVERY AT THE VERY EARLIEST DATE. IN THE CASE OF THE F-5ES, DELIVERY TIME IS 24 MONTHS; DELIVERY TIME FOR THE OTHER TWO ITEMS, GREATER. THE USG COULD NOT PROVIDE ITEMS FROM U.S. MILITARY STOCKS NOR DIVERT ORDERS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. DISTRESS AND CONCERN SHOWING ON HIS FACE, KENYATTA SAID THAT WHILE KENYA DID NOT EXPECT TO BE ATTACKED AT THIS TIME, IT HAD TO PREPARE FOR THE FUTURE, TO INSURE THAT THE COUNTRY COULD PROTECT ITSELF. BUT -- AND HE MADE THIS THE MAJOR POINT OF OUR MEETING -- KENYA NEEDED SOME (HE PLACED EMPHASIS ON THE WORD) MILITARY EQUIPMENT, NOW. THE PEOPLE, HE REASONED, HAD TO BE VISIBLY SHOWN THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS REALLY WORKING TOWARD PROVIDING THEM WITH PROTECTION AGAINST
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THE FUTURE, TO PROTECT THE KENYA THEY HAD SO SUCCESSFULLY BROUGHT TO ITS PRESENT STAGE. "PLEASE," HE PLEADED, "TELL YOUR GOVERNMENT TO DO WHAT THEY CAN TO GIVE US SOMETHING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE." I PROMISED TO PASS ON HIS MESSAGE, BUT AGAIN NOTED THAT THE FIRST ACTION ON SELECTION OF EQUIPMENT WOULD HAVE TO COME FROM THE GOK. THIS SHOULD BE DONE AS SOON AS THE TEAM RETURNS AS WE HAVE A MAY 1 DEADLINE FOR PILOT TRAINING (IF THE F-5E IS SELECTED).

7. LATCHING ON TO KENYATTA'S STATEMENT OF DEFENSE CAPABILITY, I ASKED IF HE WOULD TELL ME OF KENYA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ETHIOPIA AT PRESENT. KENYATTA SAID WITH SADNESS IN HIS VOICE THAT KENYA HAD HAD A SOUND UNDERSTANDING WITH ETHIOPIA PREVIOUSLY, AND COULD HAVE RELIED ON THEIR MILITARY ASSISTANCE IF IF THREATENED. HOWEVER, WHILE AN AGREEMENT STILL STANDS WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, "WEIARE NO LONGERNURE; WE CANT COUNT ON THEM."

8. I SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD HELP WASHINGTON UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO UGANDA BETTER IF THE PRESIDENT IZILD GIVE ME HIS COMMENTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION. I PREFACED MY QUESTION BY SAYING THAT WHILE AMIN HAS NOT APOLOGIZED, HE HAS ON TWO RECENT OCCASIONS GIVEN HIS "REASONS" FOR HIS TERRITORIAL STATEMENT. I NOTED

THAT THE SEAMEN AND DOCKWORKERS WERE BOYCOTTING UGANDAN
GOODS IN MOMBASA. MY QUESTION: IS IT YOUR OWN POLICY
THAT AMIN SHOULD APOLOGIZE BEFORE THE DEMONSTRATIONS
STOP? KENYATTA REPLIED INDIRECTLY AT FIRST BY SAYING
THAT IT WAS THE WILL OF THE KENYAN PEOPLE. "I HAVE NOT
LED THEM TO THIS OR URGED THEM ON, EXCEPT THE FIRST DAY
HERE IN NAIROBI," HE NOTED IN FRIENDLY, EXPLANATORY
TONE. HE SAID HE WAS SURE I HAD NOTED HOW SPONTANEOUS
THE DEMONSTRATIONS HAD BEEN, AND HOW DETERMINED THE
PEOPLE WERE: THAT THEY WOULD DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY EVEN
IF IT WERE ONLY WITH THEIR LIVES. I SAID I HAD, AND
THAT HE MUST BE VERY PLEASED INDEED AT THIS SHOW OF
"HARAMBEE" SPIRIT, OF NEW UNITY AMONG THE PEOPLE. BUT, I
POINTED OUT, IT WOULD BE HARD TO THROW A PANGA HIGH
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ENOUGH TO KNOCK DOWN A JET AIRCRAFT. HE LAUGHED IN
AGREEMENT. SERIOUS, SOMEWHAT BITTER, AND SOUNDING THOROUGHLY
DISAPPOINTED, KENYATTA SAID THAT THE PEOPLE KNEW HOW KIND
HE HAD BEEN TO "THAT MAN" (COMMENT: NOT ONCE DURING OUR
CONVERSATION DID HE MENTION AMIN BY NAME), RECEIVING HIM
AS A FRIEND HERE IN KENYA ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS,
INVITING HIM TO THE COAST. KENYATTA CREDITED HIS OWN
EFFORTS WITH KEEPING THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY FROM
BREAKING UP AS A RESULT OF AMIN'S ACTIONS. "WE HAVE
NOTHING AGAINST THE MAN," KENYATTA COMMENTED, "BUT I
THINK HE MUST BE A BIT...". THE PRESIDENT TAPPED THE
SIDE OF HIS HEAD. MOI SAID, "YES, YES." "WHY, HE EVEN
CALLED ME UP A WEEK AGO AND SAID HE COULDN'T GET ANY
FRUIT AND VEGETABLES IN UGANDA. SO I TOLD (PROVINCIAL
COMMISSIONER) MAHIHU TO SEND HIM A LARGE SUPPLY. AND
THEN, HE DOES THIS* HE CLAIMS KENYAN TERRITORY."
CONTINUING, KENYATTA MADE IT PLAIN THAT THE ONLY WAY IN
WHICH THE PRESENT FRACAS COULD BE QUIETED WOULD BE BY
A PUBLIC APOLOGY. "DO YOU KNOW, HE CALLED ME THREE
TIMES YESTERDAY: TWICE AT HOME, AND ONCE HERE AT
STATE HOUSE." (MOI BOUNCED IN HIS CHAIR FROM EVIDENT
SURPRISE.) "OF COURSE I WOULDN'T SPEAK TO HIM."

9. THE MEETING CONCLUDED AS I REITERATED MY INTENTION
TO PASS ON KENYATTA'S PLEA FOR EARLY DELIVERIES, AND
PRESIDENT KENYATTA THANKED THE UNITED STATES FOR WHAT
IT HAS DONE TO DATE DGR KENYA.

10. FOR LONDON: COMMENTS THROUGHOUT ON KENYATTA'S
HEALTH MAY BE HELPFUL IN VIEW OF BRITISH CONCERN (REB B).
AS THE FOREGOING IMPLIES, KENYATTA IS IN FINE HEALTH,
EXCELLENT CONTROL OF HIS FACILITIES, ALERT, NOT TIRED,
RECEPTIVE, JOVIAL. HIS ENGLISH WAS CLEAR AND CONCISE
(AS IT WAS THROUGHOUT OUR MEETING). HE NEITHER FALTERED
NOR SEARCHED FOR WORDS.

MARSHALL

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